

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
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P R 081726 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8748

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 406

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3788

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, MAY 8, 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP REVIEWED CANADIAN
DRAFT AGENDA PRESENTATION, AND DISCUSSED PROPOSED FRG TEXTS FOR
FINAL COMMUNIQUE. GROUP ALSO REVIEWED DRAFT LUXEMBOURG OPENING
STATEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. CHAIRMAN (NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES) ASCERTAINED THAT UK REP
HAD NOT AS YET RECEIVED NEW INSTRUCTIONS AND THAT THERE WAS
NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT THE PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION PAPER OR THE
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FIRST PLENARY IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH INSTRUCTIONS. UK ACTING REP (JOHNSON) PROMISED THAT ON RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS HE WOULD NOTIFY CHAIRMAN IMMEDIATELY, SO THAT AD HOC GROUP COULD HEAR THEM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THERE WERE NO BILATERALS TO REPORT.

3. LUXEMBOURG REP (DUEHR) CIRCULATED DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT. GROUP SUGGESTED SEVERAL DRAFTING CHANGES. US REP SUGGESTED THAT PHRASE SUGGESTING DIRECT LINK BETWEEN SPEEDY CONCLUSION IN VIENNA AND CSCE PROGRESS BE MODIFIED SO AS NOT TO TEMPT THE SOVIETS INTO STATING REVERSE LINKAGE POSITION IN THEIR OWN OPENING STATEMENT. LUXEMBOURG REP STATED THAT ON PERSONAL BASIS HE COULD ACCEPT ALL PROPOSED CHANGES, BUT WOULD HAVE TO REFER THEM TO HIS GOVERNMENT. HE WILL CIRCULATE REVISED TEXT AFTER DOING SO.

4. CHAIRMAN ASKED WHETHER ANY DELEGATION OBJECTED TO GREEK OPENING STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO GREEK REP' S (SEKERIS) MAY 7 PROPOSAL THAT IT REMAIN UNCHANGED FROM TEXT APPROVED DURING WINTER. THERE WERE NO OBJECTS. TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) STATED THAT, IF THE GROUP AGREED, TURKISH STATEMENT WOULD ALSO REMAIN UNCHANGED FROM TEXT DISCUSSED IN BRUSSELS IN JANUARY.

5. GROUP THEN TURNED TO REVISED CANADIAN DRAFT PRESENTATION ON AGENDA. CHAIRMAN REVIEWED GROUP' S UNDERSTANDING OF THE SCENARIO: THAT ALLIED EMISSARIES WOULD SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT THAT THE EAST MAKE A SIMILAR BRIEF PRESENTATION OF ITS OWN, THAT THERE WOULD BE A SINGLE PLENARY IN WHICH THIS PRESENTATION AND A CORRESPONDING EASTERNPRESENTATION WERE MADE, AND THAT THE TWO PAPERS WOULD SERVE AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER EAST- WEST DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA. US REP NOTED THAT WHILE SOVIETS HAD AGREED THAT NEXT PLENARY AFTER OPENING STATEMENTS SHOULD DEAL WITH AGENDA, THE REMAINDER OF THIS SCENARIO HAD NOT YET BEEN SUGGESTED TO PACT. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SUGGESTED THAT TEXT OF CANADIAN PRESENTATION BE CIRCULATED IMMEDIATELY AFTER ITS DELIVERY, AND THAT PACT BE ASKED TO DO THE SAME. GROUP AGREED. BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) OBSERVED THAT THERE WOULD LIKELY BE A SEPARATE ROMANIAN AGENDA PRESENTATION. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) SAID THAT HE BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD AGREE TO PLACING THE AREA POINT THIRD IN THE LIST OF AGENDA TOPICS PROVIDED OTHER AD HOC GROUP MEMBERS ALL WISHED TO DO SO. NO OBJECTION WAS OFFERED. DISCUSSION OF CANADIAN TEXT DEALT MOSTLY WITH DRAFTING

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POINTS.

6. GROUP THEN TURNED TO FRG PROPOSALS FOR FINAL COMMUNIQUE. TEXTS WERE THOSE IN BONN 6401(NOTAL), WITH ADDITION OF A SENTENCE TO THE END OF EACH VERSION READING " IT WAS AGREED THAT PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE AS SET FORTH IN THE CHAIRMAN' S REPORT OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF

MAY --- WHICH IS APPENDED." FRG REP (RUTH) OBSERVED THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE BEING CIRCULATED FOR " ADVANCE MEDITATION." THE TEXTS PRESENTED WOULD BE PRECEDED BY A PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS AND FOLLOWED BY A PARAGRAPH THANKING THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT. TWO VERSIONS WERE OFFERED, BOTH OF WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVED WERE CONSONANT WITH NAC GUIDANCE: THE FIRST AND PREFERABLE VERSION USED THE MBFR TERMINOLOGY, WHILE THE SECOND COULD BE USED IF THE OTHER SIDE REJECTS ANY REFERENCE TO MBFR. IN BOTH VERSIONS, THE FIRST SENTENCE DESCRIBED THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SECOND IDENTIFIED THEIR OBJECTIVES, THE THIRD DESCRIBED THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE, THE FOURTH REFERRED TO THE NEED FOR BALANCE AND FOR UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND THE FIFTH PROVIDED THAT THE PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION PAPER WILL BE CARRIED OVER. THE PROPOSALS WERE BEING ADVANCED AT THIS TIME FOR TWO PURPOSES: TO LEARN ABOUT THE THINKING IN THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP, AND TO GUIDETHE GROUP DURING THE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA. THE GROUP AGREED THAT SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF THE FRG APPROACH REPRESENTED THE IMPORTANT OPERATIONAL ASPECT OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, AND THAT A PARAGRAPH OF THIS TYPE WOULD BE A LOGICAL BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST IF IT PROVED IMPRACTICAL WITHIN A LIMITED PERIOD TO GAIN AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST ON A DETAILED AGENDA. THE CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED THAT DISCUSSION BE CONFINED INITIALLY TO THE CONCEPTS SET FORTH IN THE FRG TEXT RATHER THAN TO ITS SPECIFIC LANGUAGE.

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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P R 081726 Z MAY 73
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8749
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USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE

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USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO II

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FROM US REP MBFR

7. THE US REP OBSERVED THAT THE CONCEPT UNDERLYING THE FRG PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A LOGICAL RESPONSE TO NAC GUIDANCE, AND THAT IT WAS LOGICAL TO TRY TO GET THE MBFR TERMINOLOGY AT FIRST, WHILE ALSO INCLUDING (AS THE FRG DRAFT DID) ELEMENTS OF A POTENTIAL FALL- BACK IN THE INITIAL POSITION. THE EXPLANATORY MATERIAL ON THE OBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS USEFUL. HOWEVER, IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE ALLIES NOT VIEW THE COMPONENTS OF SUCH A PROPOSAL AS ESSENTIAL OR UNALTERABLE. THE ALLIES MUST NOT GET INTO A POSITION IN WHICH THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE WILL BE EVALUATED IN TERMS OF VICTORY OR DEFEAT, GAIN OR LOSS. IF THIS ATTITUDE CANNOT BE AVOIDED, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO STICK TO A VERY SHORT COMMUNIQUE FORMULATION FROM THE OUTSET.

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8. BELGIAN DEP REP FELT THAT FRG APPROACH WAS INCONSISTENT WITH NAC INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH HE INTERPRETED AS REQUIRING EITHER AN AGREED AGENDA OR A SHORT COMMUNIQUE WHICH DID NOT ALLUDE TO ANY AGENDA TOPICS UNLESS IT COVERED ALL OF THEM. THE FRG DRAFT, HE BELIEVED, WOULD FAIL TO " FULLY PRESERVE THE ALLIED POSITION" AS THE NAC HAD INSTRUCTED BECAUSE IT REFERRED TO PROCEEDING STEP- BY- STEP BUT MADE NO REFERENCE TO VERIFICATION. IF FRG FAVORITES WERE TO BE LISTED AS AN EXCEPTION, SO SHOULD BELGIAN FAVORITES. FRG REP (RUTH) ACKNOWLEDGED) THAT THE STEP- BY- STEP CONCEPT WAS IN THE GAP, BUT FELT THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO GET IT ACCEPTED, AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT SOME PHRASEOLOGY REGARDING THE NEED FOR " CONFIDENCE" IN THE RESULTS COULD COVER BELGIAN POINT, AND BELGIAN DEPREP RESPONDED THAT IT WOULD DO SO, BUT THAT IN THAT CASE BELGIUM WOULD RESIST GIVING UP THIS REFERENCE IN THE PROCESS OF BARGAINING WITH THE OTHER SIDE ON A TEXT.

9. US REP COMMENTED THAT TEXT MUST BE CONSIDERED AS A NEGOTIATING DOCUMENT WHICH COULD BE FREELY MODIFIED. PERHAPS IT WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO INCLUDE IN THE COMMUNIQUE A REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT AGENDA TOPICS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE ALLIED POSITION. THE STEP- BY- STEP CONCEPT MIGHT HAVE TO BE DROPPED FROM THE FRG DRFAT BECAUSE IT REQUIRED RAISING OTHER ISSUES AS WELL. THE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE FRG PROPOSAL WERE

THAT IT DESCRIBED THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PROVIDED A MEANS OF PRESERVING THE CONCEPT OF BALANCE. GREEK REP OBSERVED THAT ESSENTIAL POINTS WERE DESCRIPTION AND A REFERENCE TO NOT REDUCING THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY. FURTHERDISCUSSION PRODUCED CONSENSUS THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD IF POSSIBLE AVOID A DESCRIPTION REFERRING SOLELY AND EXCLUSIVELY TO REDUCTIONS, BUT THAT FLEXIBILITY WAS POSSIBLE ON WORD " ACTIVITIES".

10. US REP OBJECTED TO INCLUSION OF CONCEPT OF " LEVELS (OF FORCES)" IN DESCRIPTION, SINCE THIS MIGHT APPEAR TO INVITE OR LAY BASIS FOR SOVIET PROPOSAL OF A FORCE LIMITATION AGREEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THEORY, THE SOVIETS COULD TAKE AN FLA CONCEPT AS A BASIS FOR FREEZING NOT ONLY THE NUMBERS BUT ALSO THE EQUIPMENT OR ORGANIZATION OF FORCES, AS A BASIS FOR WIDENING THE AREA OF NEGOTIATIONS, OR AS AN ADMISSION THAT PRESENT LEVELS

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OF FORCES WERE EQUAL, SO THAT DISPROPORTIONATE REDUCTIONS COULD BE RULED OUT. FRG REP RESERVED ON THIS POINT. US REP ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE PHRASE " MUTAL REDUCTIONS" BE SUBSTITUED FOR " REDUCTIONS" WHEREVER IT HAD THE CHARACTER OF A TITLE IN ORDER TO LINK WESTERN REDUCTIONS TO EASTERN REDUCTIONS IN THE PUBLIC EYE, AND THAT THE PHRASE " FORCES AND ARMAMENTS" IN THE SECOND VERSION WAS TACTICALLY UNWISE BECAUSE IT WAS TOO CLOSE TO THE SOVIETS' PREFERENCE. FRG REP ACCENTED THESE SUGGESTIONS, WITH CONCURRENCE OF THE GROUP. US REP ALSO SUGGESTED THAT COMMUNIQUE MIGHT MENTION THAT EACH SIDE HAS THE RIGHT TO RAISE ANY RELEVANT TOPIC DURING NEGOTIATIONS NORWEGIAN ACTING REP (WIKBERG) SUGGESTED FORMULATION THAT OBJECTIVE OF NEGOTIATIONS WAS TO PROMOTE STABILITY " IN EUROPE" THROUGH MEANSURES RELATED TO CENTRAL EUROPE, AND GROUP AGREED. SEVERAL DRAFTING CHANGES WERE PROPOSED. FRG REP AGREED TO PREPARE AND CIRCULATE A REVISED DRAFT FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

11. NEXT MEETING WILL BE AT 11:00 A. M., MAY 9 IN US EMBASSY. MOWINCKEL

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